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# C.I.A. Said to Help Both Iran and Foes

J - By STEPHEN ENGELBERG

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WASHINGTON, Nov. 19 — Covert operations in Iran by the Central Intelligence Agency have included both help to Iranian exiles seeking the overthrow of the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and, in some instances, aid to the Ayatollah's Government, according to Government officials.

They said the United States had sponsored covert activity against the Iranian Government or in conjunction with it since at least the final days of the Carter Administration. In one operation, the officials said, the Iranian Government was provided in 1983 with a list of Soviet espionage agents within the Tudeh Party, the Iranian Communist party, which was subsequently outlawed.

Some of party's members were executed and Iran expelled 18 Soviet diplomats.

Disclosure of the covert operations comes days after the Reagan Administration acknowledged that it had secretly sent arms to Iran in the last year. That operation was run by the National Security Council staff with the help of the C.I.A. It was not disclosed to Congress until after it had been announced by Iranian officials and reported in the Arab press.

Government officials said Congress had been informed of the various other covert operations in Iran.

An account of the C.I.A.'s activities in Iran over the last seven years appeared in The Washington Post today.

A former intelligence official said that such an array of operations, in which the United States simultaneously supports groups with opposite goals, are not unusual.

"When you've got an aging leader and a country in controlled chaos, you try a lot of things," the official said. "You hedge your bets. I think it's perfectly appropriate that you have the agency probe in a lot of different directions. You don't always know what's going to happen, and it could be embarrassing if it comes out all at once."

Western intelligence sources said that in 1982 the C.I.A. was running several covert operations involving Iranian exile groups. These included direct financial aid to the groups as well as help in operating a clandestine radio station.

A more recent C.I.A. operation, Government officials said, involved an attempt to broadcast a message by Riza Pahlevi, the son of the late Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi, over Iranian television. Iranian exiles in Paris subsequently boasted that they had interfered with normal broadcasting in September.

Interviews with a number of people who have contacts in Iran could not confirm that the effort had actually succeeded.

One of the more significant operations involved the Tudeh Party. Government officials said that in 1982, Vladimir Kuzichkin, a senior diplomat in the Soviet Embassy in Teheran, defected to the West. That operation was

run by British intelligence, which subsequently debriefed him. Mr. Kuzichkin, officials said, knew the names of dozens of Soviet agents in Iran and elsewhere.

The material on Iran was passed on to the C.I.A., which turned it over to the Khomeini Government, officials said.

## Jordanian Expresses Shock

AMMAN, Jordan, Nov. 19 (AP) — Prime Minister Zaid Rifai said today that he was shocked the United States had shipped weapons to Iran and he warned that American credibility in the Middle East had been harmed.

Mr. Rifai said in an interview that the shipment was "the exact opposite of the declared American policy."

"It was certainly against our joint efforts with the United States to contact all our friends and others to prevent arms from reaching Iran," he said.

Mr. Rifai's comments were the first substantive reaction by a Jordanian official to Mr. Reagan's disclosure of the arms shipments. Jordan backs Iraq against Iran in their six-year-old war.

"It was a very shocking development and a regrettable one," Mr. Rifai said. "The explanations that are given are not convincing and did a lot of damage to American credibility in the area."

He said it was now "up to the United States to make a determined effort to limit the scope of the damage." He said this might be done "by following a more evenhanded policy" between Israel and the Arab countries. He refused to elaborate.